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Culinary Heritage as Used in the Present. Selected elements of the Culinary Heritage Management in Contemporary Poland

Abstract: The issue addressed in the following text has been the subject of research for a long time now, but it has only relatively recently become an element of practical management, as local and regional cuisine is increasingly often used for marketing, tourism product development and for supporting regional and local entrepreneurship.

The text is divided into two parts: in the first part, the author presents a brief history of Polish cuisine. The second part focuses on the contemporary usage of culinary heritage in many contexts, including regional policy.

Key words: culinary heritage, management, regional policy, food and wine studies, regional development

When perusing a restaurant menu for a dish that could be recommended to a foreigner as typically Polish, we may find a few staples such as *kotlet schabowy* (a pork breaded cutlet), *żur* or *żurek* (sour rye soup) or *bigos* (meat and sauerkraut stew)¹. Then, a question comes to mind about which dish is the most characteristic of Polish cuisine, which is a tradition or part of the heritage, for how long certain traditions been around and how certain foods with long traditions have evolved over the years or centuries. This issue has

¹ The publication is based on the article: K. Plebańczyk, "Dziedzictwo kulinarne wykorzystane. Wybrane elementy zarządzania dziedzictwem kulinarnym we współczesnej Polsce", *Zarządzanie w Kulturze* 2015, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 165–185.

been the subject of research for a long time now, but it has only relatively recently become an element of practical management, as local and regional cuisine is increasingly often used for marketing, tourism product development and for supporting regional and local entrepreneurship.

The aforementioned pork breaded cutlet has various marketing names and is served with different extras that are to make a particular cutlet stand out from the crowd of other chops prepared according to the same recipe. It may be served “under the blanket” of cheese or mushrooms, with gravy, or with garlic butter, the latter being particularly popular today. In principle, however, it is prepared in the same fashion across the country – it is a fried piece of pork coated with breadcrumbs. It, most probably, dates back to the 19th century and is certainly mentioned in one of the most well-known cookbooks of that period. The book’s author, Lucyna Ćwierciakiewiczowa, allows for both breadcrumbing a piece of meat with the obligatory bone (today, the bone is typically removed)² or frying it without such coating. She advises to prepare the dish similarly to mutton cutlets (though today the comparison would be reverse).

In the days of the communist regime, entire generations shaped their culinary tastes based on the *schabowy*. It was even regarded as a symbol of luxury, as opposed to the much-hated *kotlet mielony* (frikadeller) (which could be made of anything) and other bland dishes served in bars and canteens. Overcooked and underspiced, dull foods were recommended by the then nutritionists as more easily assimilated by people, especially children. Generations raised in this culinary spirit still like to eat *schabowy* today, as evidenced by the 2004 Knorr Report called *Dietary Habits of Poles*, which was also cited in the commentary by TNS PENTOR with the telling title of “A redoubt for *schabowy*, or the Polish culinary patriotism.”³ According to the Report, the average Pole is willing to replace the type of meat (we more and more often use poultry in place of pork), but not the preparation – up to 73% of the respondents indicated that a breaded and fried piece of meat is a fundamental element of the Polish menu, whose position cannot be undermined.

Therefore, you could safely say that *schabowy* is the national dish of Poland and part of the Polish culinary heritage. Its history, however, is much shorter than the history of *żurek*, for example. The word *żurek* is a common name; in cookbooks and in restaurant menus, you can usually find *żur*, and this “soup

² L. Ćwierciakiewiczowa, *365 obiadów*, Warszawa 2004; first edition: *365 obiadów za 5 złotych: z dodatkiem 120 obiadów postnych bez ryb / przez Lucynę C. autorkę jedynych praktycznych przepisów*, Warszawa 1871.

³ TNS PENTOR. *Reduta schabowego, czyli polski patriotyzm kulinarny*; Raport Knorr Zwyczaje żywieniowe Polaków, 2004 <http://pentor-arch.tnsglobal.pl/21948.xml> [accessed on: 5 August 2014].

made of soured flour, with no fat or cream, whitened with milk, served with loose or roasted peas, was one of the most popular Lenten dishes of the people and the Polish nobility”⁴ [transl. note: unofficial translation] – as we read in *Słownik staropolski* (The Old Polish Dictionary) by Gloger from 1903. The ingredients of *żur* vary, depending on the region; it is made with vegetables, dried mushrooms or meat, and served with sausage, bacon, potatoes, or eggs. It has a very long tradition – Gloger was compiling his dictionary of the Old Polish culture (whose beginning, as he says, dates back to the turn of the 16th century); therefore, it was already popular back then, but not only as a dish:

During Lent, people used to eat *żur* with herring. So when Easter came, court youth often organized mischievous funerals of *żur* and herring, particularly when there was a novice among them and they wished to tease him a little. They would carry a herring tied to a string and suspended from a tall branch, sentencing it to be hanged for having tormented the stomachs of fasting people for seven Sundays. The newcomer would have to walk behind the herring, carrying an old pot of *żur* on his head and followed by someone pretending to be a gravedigger with a shovel. When the procession would reach the courtyard, the gravedigger would hit the pot with the shovel, smashing it on the novice's head and dousing him with *żur*, triggering the peals of laughter of the comrades. [Transl. note: unofficial translation].

(Original quote: W Wielkim poście jadano *żur* ze śledziem. Gdy więc nadeszła Wielkanoc, młodzież dworska urządzała nieraz krotochwilny pogrzeb dla *żuru* i śledzia, zwłaszcza gdy był w jej gronie nowicjusz, z którego chciano zażartować. Niesiono śledzia uwiązanego na sznurku u wysokiej gałęzi, niby skazując go na powieszenie za to, że przez siedem niedziel prześladował poszczące żołądki. Za śledziem kazano nowicjuszowi nieść na głowie stary garnek napełniony *żurem*. Za niosącym *żur* szedł niby grabarz z łopatą, a gdy procesja ta wyszła na dziedziniec, niosący łopatę uderzał z góry w garnek i rozbijał a *żur* oblewał fryca wśród gromkiego śmiechu dworskiej drużyny).⁵

Żur is a typical Polish dish and it “hasn’t gone beyond the Polish borders; we like it and it has a lot of variants here [in Poland], but nobody else in the world eats it or wants to eat it,”⁶ although it has its incarnation in Czech cuisine as well. Despite the fact that it is widely promoted and is on the menu of almost every restaurant, *żur* is not on the list of Poles’ favorite soups. In the aforementioned Report, it was defeated by the tomato soup (also a staple dish in the communist canteens), broth, and cucumber soup.

Bigos has a much longer documented tradition, although the way it is prepared has changed dramatically. In his dictionary, Gloger cites Sirenus, who in the reign of Sigismund III wrote in his *Zielnik* (Herbarium) that cabbage

⁴ Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, Vol. 1–4, The Virtual Library of Polish Literature, <http://literat.ug.edu.pl/~literat/autors/gloger.htm> [accessed on: 25 June 2014].

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ P. Bikont, R. Makłowicz, “Co nam zostało z tamtych wieków?,” *Mówią Wieki* 2009, Vol. 12 (599).

is “delicious for the lips, especially if it is sauerkraut... this one particularly does not nourish the body well, and makes blood thick... albeit it does not do wrong to hard-working people.”⁷ [Transl. note: unofficial translation]. After hunting in the royal forests had been banned in the 13th century, sauerkraut, also served boiled, slowly became the staple diet of countryside folk. It was also a meal eaten to survive during numerous Lenten days – at different times of the Middle Ages, there may have been as many as 192 fasting days, which did not only exclude meat but also milk, butter and eggs from the menu. However, even in the 17th century, “*bigos* was prepared, using different types of chopped and pre-roasted meat, fish, and even crayfish. It was typically seasoned with lemon, limonia, vinegar or sorrel.”⁸ It was not until the end of 18th century that *bigos* with sauerkraut, as known today, was mentioned in Jędrzej Kitowicz’s *Opis obyczajów* (The Description of Customs)⁹, becoming one of the national dishes of Poland.

In the pots warmed the bigos; mere words cannot tell
Of its wondrous taste, colour and marvellous smell.
One can hear the words buzz, and the rhymes ebb and flow,
But its content no city digestion can know.
To appreciate the Lithuanian folksong and folk food,
You need health, to live on land, and be back from the wood.

Original quote:

W kociołkach bigos grzano. W słowach wydać trudno
Bigosu smak przedziwny, kolor i woń cudną:
Słów tylko brzęk usłyszysz i rymów porządek,
Ale treści ich miejski nie pojmie żołądek.
Aby cenić litewskie pieśni i potrawy,
Trzeba mieć zdrowie, na wsi żyć, wracać z obławy.¹⁰

The above excerpt from the 1834 *Pan Tadeusz*, written by the Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz, introduces an additional thread into the discussion on the Polish culinary heritage. Mickiewicz clearly uses the word “Lithuanian,” and although this particular geographical area became part of Poland in the 14th century, it is necessary to reflect on the importance of various influences on something that we refer to as Polish cuisine today.

⁷ Z. Gloger, *op. cit.*

⁸ J. Dumanowski, *Kuchnia polska, czyli bigos z kapustą*, http://www.wilanow-palac.pl/kuchnia_polska_czyli_bigos_z_kapusta.html [accessed on: 25 June 2014].

⁹ J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*; introduction: M. Dernałowicz, Warszawa 1999; first full edition Wrocław 1951.

¹⁰ A. Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*, ed. S. Pigoń, Kraków 1948; A. Mickiewicz A., *Pan Tadeusz or The Last Foray in Lithuania: a tale of the gentry during 1811–1812*, transl. M. Weyland, 2006, <http://www.antoranz.net/BIBLIOTEKA/PT051225/PanTad-eng/PT-Start.htm> [accessed on: 25 June 2014].

This text will be presented in the following order:

I. Polish cuisine as our culinary heritage.

The preliminary description of the dishes presented in the introduction to this text shows how complex the concept of Polish cuisine is. It consists of centuries-old traditions, foreign influences and the knowledge of citizens. One does not need deep analyses to say that Polish cuisine is not homogeneous, but there is a lot of foods and culinary traditions closely linked to one another, e.g. the dishes mentioned in the introduction, for they derive from the same sources. This demonstrates the common culinary heritage. In order to study the meaning of this heritage in the context of contemporary Poland, it seems necessary to outline a quite general history associated with the culinary heritage of our country.

II. Culinary heritage as used in the present.

As I have already mentioned at the beginning, in the Poland of today local and regional cuisine is increasingly often used for marketing, tourism product development and for supporting regional and local entrepreneurship. The second part of the text will discuss these issues in the context of specific initiatives.

I. Polish cuisine as our culinary heritage

Little is known about the Polish cuisine from before the 16th century. It is believed that the first Polish recipe is the one for *ćwikła* (cooked grated beets salad with horseradish), described by Mikołaj Rej in his 16th-century work *Life of an Honest Man*. It is worth noting that not only does Rej provide a recipe, but the book itself is replete with criticism of the cuisine of his time, as part of a broader discussion about Polish traditions and culture. For instance, Rej disapproved of the new-fangled lemons. He (and many of his contemporaries) only started to eat them when he heard about their health benefits. *Life of an Honest Man* features various culinary comments, like the one below on spices:

Take a good look at those odd platters of bawdy whims of today's world. Behold this myriad of delights called spices, which make a peasant full up and panting for breath like a boar in a lair. [Transl. note: unofficial translation].

(Original quote: Przypatrz się jedno owym dziwnym półmiskom a owym sprośnym wymysłom świata dzisiejszego. Patrz na owy rozmaite przysmaki co je saporzy zowią, a prawie saporzy, bo chłop po nich sapi ożarłszy się jako w barłogu kiernoz).¹¹

¹¹ M. Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego*, Wrocław 1956; first edition: 1558.

The first “historians” did not pay a lot of attention to cuisine in the sense of food. In the 12th-century *Chronicles* by Gallus Anonymus or the 15th-century *Chronicles* by Jan Długosz, you can find many descriptions of feasts, but the authors focused more on showing their lavishness, not the menu. As emphasized by Krystyna Bockenheim, in his description of the feast organized by King Bolesław I Chrobry in honor of Emperor Otto III in the year 1000 in Gniezno, Gallus Anonymus focused primarily on the details of tableware (in which common wooden dishes were replaced by silverware) and the importance of the Polish King before the European guests.¹²

Krystyna Bockenheim also paints a picture of the times before Bolesław Chrobry, referring to legends (e.g. about Piast – the progenitor of the royal Piast dynasty), small chronicle notes or archaeological discoveries which testify to what products and methods of preparation may have been known back then. Piast is believed to have been a beekeeper or a wheelwright; in the 9th and 10th centuries, people were already using dome kilns, so “instead of unleavened flatbread, it became possible to bake sourdough bread, which for many years remained the pride of Polish cuisine;”¹³ people also knew how to prepare fish or meat.

Maria Dembińska went to great lengths to peruse the accounts of the 15th-century court of King Jagiełło, but the only culinary information we can get out of them is what products were bought rather than how they were prepared. Incidentally, we were able to encounter the first mention of gingerbread, whose name is derived from pepper added to it (reportedly it was a journeyman's mistake)¹⁴ and which later became another Polish tradition and today is considered a national product. However, Poland was not the only place where gingerbread was made, as this delicacy was also famous in many foreign European cities, including Basel and Salzburg. Nuremberg was the main competitor of the medieval Polish city of Toruń, and “each of these cities jealously guarded the secret of their procedure, at the same time not giving up efforts to learn the key of their rivals’ recipes. Finally, under the 1556 agreement, Toruń was granted the right to bake “Nuremberg” gingerbread, while Nuremberg began to officially produce “Toruń” gingerbread.”¹⁵

Polish cuisine started to evolve in the 16th century, mainly due to intensified foreign influences. People traveled more and become increasingly familiar with different spices. Moreover, various new products became available. One of the turning points was the arrival of Bona Sforza from Italy to Poland in 1518, who was a newly married wife of Sigismund I the Old. The reference

¹² After: K. Bockenheim, *Przy polskim stole*, Wrocław 1998.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁴ After: <http://www.muzeumpiernika.pl> [accessed on: 25 June 2014].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

books repeatedly quote the description of the banquet held after her wedding ceremony with King Sigismund.¹⁶ The description is quite lengthy, however, it is enough to mention that the menu was “too sophisticated (...). You could not see heaps of meat, although she did not seem to be vegetarian. Lettuce constituted the most outrageous and scandalous new element.”¹⁷ Bona was not very popular with the Polish nobility due to many reasons, including her introduction of culinary and customary novelties. As opposed to all things new, an honest life of a typical Polish nobleman was described and extolled by Mikołaj Rej. From that moment onwards, Polish cuisine has had two strands.¹⁸

Rustic, traditional heavy and greasy cuisine – propagated by the Polish nobility, who unanimously rejected any novelties and even tried to present the cuisine as an argument in favor of the superiority of noblemen and their descent from the legendary ancient people of Sarmatia. It is worth mentioning the Sarmatians in the context of this text, because “the theory of the Sarmatian descent of the Polish nation and state in this context is neither a myth nor the imaginary stories told by chroniclers of non-critical minds, but a proof that more enlightened classes of the nation are trying to find their true ‘self,’ and that a nation which feels strong enough and wants to mean something is attempting to discover its historical traditions and find its own place among other nations from the distant past.”¹⁹ [Transl. note: unofficial translation].

Court cuisine, which was influenced by international relations and which, along with the development of the era, took on an increasingly sophisticated form, both in terms of what was served and how it was served. As early as the 17th century, it became fashionable to hire cooks who were responsible for both, the flavor and the visual aspects of the foods served and who did not shun culinary novelties, much-hated by the Polish gentry.

The court cuisine is ideally presented in the book entitled *Compendium Ferculorum or a Collection of Dishes and Recipes*, written and published in 1682 by Stanisław Czerniecki, a chef of the Lubomirski family. It is widely regarded to be the first Polish cookbook (although there are ongoing speculations about other similar works which appeared earlier).²⁰ In addition, Czerniecki is considered as the one who made growing vegetables more widespread (including the ones introduced by Bona but so far imported from abroad), for they began to be increasingly served on aristocratic tables.

¹⁶ The banquet is described in the book by M. Bogucka entitled *Bona Sworza*, Wrocław 2009.

¹⁷ Bockenheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁸ The division quoted after: Bockenheimer, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ T. Mańkowski, *Genealogia sarmatyzmu*, Warszawa 1946, p. 31.

²⁰ J. Dumanowski, *Tajemnica pierwszej polskiej książki kucharskiej*, <http://www.wilanow-palac.pl> [accessed on: 25 June 2014].

France, which was the main point of reference for the contemporary people, was in the middle of a “culinary revolution:” La Varenne, Escoffier, Bocuse and Carême revolutionized eating habits, and *haute cuisine* became synonymous with the dishes eaten by those of noble birth. The old heavy meals were only served on the tables of the poorest social strata, the kitchen sphere was dominated by men, and many famous members of the aristocracy were regarded as the originators of new dishes. Well-known examples include a beefsteak, invented by Viscount François-René de Chateaubriand, or the Béchamel sauce, supposedly created by Louis de Béchameil, a French high-ranking official at the court of Louis XIV. A Polish nobleman-Sarmatian appreciated good food, but he did not bother himself with such trivial things as cooking, leaving it to women and anonymous cooks. In the 19th century, Lucyna Ćwierciakiewiczowa wrote, “I always tell wives that a delicious dinner is the basis of domestic happiness and a husband’s good mood.”²¹ Despite general opposition to innovations, foreign products were present even in the most traditional Polish cuisine of the gentry, becoming a common element therein over time (e.g. the aforementioned lemons).

The 18th century was a time of changes and contrasts. More and more often, the aristocracy employed French chefs, but there were also homes which tried to cherish native traditions, as exemplified by the feast for Polish magnates and foreign envoys organized by the Great Crown Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński and described by Franciszek Bohomolec.²² In order to showcase the richness of Polish cuisine and his own resources, Ossoliński ordered to serve dishes of only Polish origin, complemented by several types of beer, wine and honey only from the vicinity of Sandomierz.

A passion for novelty was clearly visible at the Royal Court, particularly in the reign of the last Polish King – Stanisław August Poniatowski. It was then when the culinary art was strongly influenced by the new French cuisine. As pointed out by Maja and Jan Łoziński, “the love for all things French intensified even more when Napoleon’s wars with Prussia, Austria, and, above all, Russia raised Poles’ hopes for independence. There were two culinary bibles at the time: the collection of recipes by the famous Carême, Napoleon’s chef,”²³ and a course book entitled *Kucharz doskonały pożyteczny dla zatrudniających się gospodarstwem* (The Excellent Cook is useful to those running a household), translated from French by Wojciech Wielądko and widely used in the homes of wealthy landowners and bourgeois until the late 19th century (it was published in Poland for the first time in 1783).

²¹ L. Ćwierciakiewiczowa, *op. cit.*

²² F. Bohomolec, *Życie Jerzego Ossolińskiego*, Warszawa 1777, e-book: Google Book Search.

²³ M. Łozińska, J. Łoziński, *Historia polskiego smaku*, Warszawa, p. 128.

The traditional Sarmatian Polish cuisine of the gentry disappeared in the 18th century, arousing sentimental affection, which is clearly visible in the literature of the period. Jędrzej Kitowicz begins his book *The Description of Customs* by remarking that “as we read in the tales of yore, those who lived a hundred years before us were by no means of different customs as we are today.”²⁴

Such sentiments are exemplified by the description of Wojski's feast in Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*. The feast was analyzed by Jarosław Dumanowski, who writes that “Mickiewicz had Wojski use *The Excellent Cook* (XI, 117). However, the poet's explanations and the descriptions of the dishes and their ingredients leave no doubt that the characters of *Pan Tadeusz* gorge on the specialties from the 1682 book [*Compendium ferculorum*].”²⁵ At that time, traditional Polish cuisine as described by Mickiewicz had almost ceased to exist due to many factors, including the famine in Europe as well as the Partitions with the resulting repression and the impoverishment of the society. The world depicted by Mickiewicz no longer existed, even in the context of the culinary arts. Cuisine became a sort of “last bastion” of things that are Polish, although Kazimierz Chłędowski, a 19th-century writer and culture researcher, remarks wryly in his memoirs that “a bankrupt nobleman kept a good cook as long as it was possible, and the cook did not leave the house until horses, oxen, and even cows had been sold.”²⁶ On the other hand, it is generally believed that “for over one hundred years of Partitions, manor houses remained the anchor of the national tradition.”²⁷ In the 19th century, cooks were replaced by women. While earlier running a household and cooking done by a woman was considered a whim in aristocratic homes, and a duty in the homes of the gentry, during the Partitions such chores became the main female activities in Poland. What undoubtedly contributed to this shift was the political situation at the time, as a result of which women were often left alone to their own resources and had to fend for themselves. Polish cuisine began to be dominated by the products that could be bred and grown in the immediate environment, so the still-present vegetables (“garden produce”), including carrots, leeks, lettuce, white cabbage, lamb's lettuce, radishes, green beans, cauliflowers, peas, Brussels sprouts, melons and watermelons. A farm had to be self-sufficient. At this time, there was a heavy crop of cookbooks and how-to books for housewives written by other women such

²⁴ J. Kitowicz, *op. cit.*

²⁵ J. Dumanowski, *Uczta w Soplicowie. Kucharz doskonały czy compendium ferculorum?*, http://www.wilanow-palac.pl/uczta_w_soplicowie_kucharz_doskonaly_czy_compendium_ferculorum.html [accessed on: 12 August 2014].

²⁶ M. Łozińska, J. Łoziński, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

as Karolina Nakwaska, Anna Ciundziewnicka, Wincentyna Zawadzka, and Lucyna Ćwierciakiewiczowa.²⁸ Many of those books still helped women run the house in the early 20th century and largely contributed to the development of Poland's national cuisine, for despite a large migration of people to cities, vivid traditions cultivated in the countryside were transferred to urban areas. The new social groups emerging in cities – representatives of different professions or the intelligentsia – brought new customs, traditions and, very often, supplies. Migrations and the dramatic fight against the invaders contributed to the unification of the Polish menu and laid the foundations for the national cuisine.

The books included recipes used in many homes and principles for running a successful household, all linked to the four seasons of the year, so typical of the literature of the period. On the one hand, what could be observed were attempts to uphold the traditions, on the other hand, the books presented a very pragmatic approach related to the harsh conditions in which women were forced to live; finally, there was a strong influence of foreign cuisines, especially evidenced by the invaders' dietary habits and dishes.

Potatoes are a very good example. They appeared in Polish cuisine thanks to Prussia, one of the partitioners, and today are an integral part of almost every Polish dinner. Before the potato came to Poland, however, it had already wandered around a large part of Europe, only to replace mainstream groats for good. Due to economic reasons, the potato became the staple food for the poor.

After World War I and when Poland regained its independence, changes occurred not only in the political and economic situation, but also in Polish cuisine. Despite the desire to maintain the traditions of the landed gentry, the laborious menu of Ćwierciakiewiczowa, which required the assistance of

²⁸ DWÓR WIEJSKI. *Dzieło poświęcone gospodyniom polskim, przydatne i osobom w mieście mieszkającym przerobione z francuzkiego Pani Aglaë Adanson z wielu dodatkami i zupełnem zastosowaniem do naszych obyczajów i potrzeb, przez Karolinę z Potockich Nakwaską, w 3 Tomach*, Poznań 1843, THE VIRTUAL LIBRARY OF POLISH LITERATURE, <http://literat.ug.edu.pl/~literat> [accessed on: 25 June 2014]; A. Ciundziewnicka, *Gospodyni litewska czyli Nauka utrzymywania porządku domu i zaopatrzenia go we wszystkie przyprawy, zapasy kuchenne, apteczkowe i gospodarskie tudzież hodowania i utrzymywania bydła, ptactwa i innych żywiół, według sposobów wypróbowanych i najdoświadczeńszych, a razem najtańszych i najprostszych*, Wilno 1856, http://www.europeana.eu/portal/record/92033/BibliographicResource_3000053588743.html [accessed on: 25 June 2014]; W. Zawadzka, *Kucharka litewska: zawierająca: przepisy gruntowne i jasne, własnem doświadczeniem sprawdzone, sporządzania smacznych, wykwinnych, tanich i prostych rozmaitych rodzajów potraw tak mięsnych, jak i postnych [...] z przydaniem na początku książki dokładnej dyspozycji stołu*, Wilno 1913, http://www.europeana.eu/portal/record/92033/BibliographicResource_3000053530867.html?start=3&qury=Wincentyna+Zawadzka&startPage=1&rows=24 [accessed on: 25 June 2014].

many a “kitchen wench,” was slowly displaced by “cheap, fast and healthy.”²⁹ The new style in home cooking was promoted by nutritionists (a new profession), culinary columns in women’s magazines, schools, and household courses. In the newly-freed country, women worked professionally, which by no means absolved them from household chores. Maria Disslowa, perhaps the most famous director of the School of Home Economics in Lviv and author of numerous how-to books, firmly stated that “today, every woman has to be able to cook, with no exception,”³⁰ and that knowing how to run the household is essential, even in times when women are granted equal citizenship rights to men and are given the opportunity to work professionally.

If a woman who has a nine-to-five job wants her husband and children to eat healthy homemade breakfasts, lunches and dinners, she not only has to know exactly all the quick-to-prepare meals, but she must be able to cook them ahead and think about the menu so that she can buy all the necessary products on her way to or from work³¹

– reads the introduction to the most popular how-to book/cookbook. These words still resonate with many modern women.

A novelty in the menus of those times were raw vegetables like cabbage, carrots, celery, and turnip, introduced on doctor’s and nutritionist’s orders and before eaten only when cooked and seasoned with pork fat or butter. Just like traditional Polish cuisine, the daily diet included meat, as long as a family could afford it – very often, meat was a symbol of affluent lifestyle. A lot of fish and crayfish was eaten, too. On a regular day, what landed on tables was a not particularly sophisticated piece of meat, which was “a favorite dish of almost all men, for whom it will always be, one could say, a centerpiece of a wholesome dinner.”³² Another indispensable element was soup, although the 1930s cookbooks already suggested recipes for one-meal dinners.

Undoubtedly, urban meals were more modest than those served in the countryside, where self-sufficiency still allowed for a greater variety of a daily menu. Rural dwellers used to cherish local traditions, which some people described with fondness, and others with distaste. However, it must be emphasized that many traditional dishes survived thanks to the fact that they continued to be prepared by the country folk. In the early 1930s, more and more manor houses began to exploit the appeal of rural cuisine and fashion, which lured urban population to the countryside. People started to open guest houses and inns, where guests could pay to taste the traditional Polish hospitality of the gentry. On the other hand, it was a way to patch up gaps in

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190

³⁰ M. Disslowa, *Jak gotować. Praktyczny podręcznik kucharstwa*, Warszawa 1989; first edition: Poznań 1931.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³² After: M. Łozińska, J. Łoziński, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

the home budget. Helena Stankiewicz, née Zan, ran a guest house in Berzeni-ki in the Vilnius Region. As she used to recall, its early days were as follows: “The first guests were my in-laws’ friends, who used to rave about the smoked hams, tenderloins, roasted geese, or stuffed fish we would send them earlier for Christmas. So, they dreamed of spending holidays at our house and of eating what we ate.”³³

After World War II, culinary standards were set by products available in stores. Permanent supply shortages made life a misery for all, but especially for the city dwellers. “The Battle for Trade” – the economic policy introduced by the then Polish government with consecutive legal acts – led to the disappearance of private initiatives and the emergence of large cooperatives. In 1950, the Science and Research Institute for Trade and Mass Catering (Polish: Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy Handlu i Żywnienia Zbiorowego) was established. One of its main tasks was to compile cookbooks and recipes presenting dishes served in all catering establishments in Poland. Thus, restaurants, bars and cafés, i.e. “mass catering facilities,” began to offer exactly the same menus. Stores lacked everything, food products were rationed, and meat on the menu became synonymous with wealth. When analyzing the books, including the cookbooks, of the Polish People’s Republic, it turns out that they came in several cycles and waves, and we can easily learn from them which products were or were not available in stores, what potato peels were used for in the kitchen, what was used to prepare a leftover cake, or how to conjure a wholesome meal out of thin air. An important role in shaping today’s culinary habits was played by the so-called *bar mleczny* (milk bar), which served all kinds of dumplings, including *pyzys* (grated potato dumplings), *knedles* (fruit-filled potato dumplings) and *pierogis*. Although milk bars appeared before World War I, they were not as common back then as in the days of communism. Railway station bars plied customers with *flaki* (tripe), frikadellers with carrots and peas, bigos, or baked beans. Sunday dinners were usually composed of broth or tomato paste soup and roast chicken or pork breaded cutlets with potatoes and sauerkraut or fried beets on the side – this is the menu which often runs through the literature of the period and ... through the diet of contemporary Poles.³⁴

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³⁴ After: *Zwyczaje żywieniowe Polaków*, *op. cit.*

II. Culinary heritage as used in the present

“In the Polish People’s Republic, eating establishments were not advertised, so if you wanted to know where to eat good food, you had to find it out for yourself. I knew one thing – when it comes to cuisine, historical borders from the times of Partitions were still there. The worst food was served in the former Russian territory, and the best could be found in the former Austria. The culinary situation in the Prussian Partition was not completely hopeless, although the food there was monotonous. When planning a trip, you had to factor that in. In Galicia, even the most seedy eatery served decent meals, whereas the same couldn’t be said about Mazovia and Podlasie”³⁵ – the memories of Andrzej Garlicki, a well-known columnist, show, on the one hand, that certain traditions survived despite the widespread unification; on the other hand, it was much easier to go back to the roots after the change of regime in 1989.

One of the significant changes was the administrative reform, as a result of which 16 new provinces (also called voivodeships) were formed in accordance with the historical and geographical factors, replacing the old 49. Building these “new” regions involved searching for their distinctive elements, which derived from the economy and, above all, from the cultural heritage. Regional authorities soon realized that the heritage of their region, including cookery, was their most valuable asset. Since the 1990s, serving local cuisine has been a fixed element of all regional and local events (which have been proliferating year by year). The closer to the present day, the greater people’s attachment to local cuisine and the more attempts to recreate the proverbial “grandma’s recipes.” Due to the Polish accession to the European Union and the obligation to implement the EU regional development policy, actions taken by authorities intensified. The aims included socio-economic development, creating new jobs, supporting local initiatives, protecting heritage, and developing tourism. Developing locally and showing the uniqueness of each place became political priorities; therefore, there is now a variety of initiatives that could contribute to that, from organizing events and rural festivities, through searching for and reviving local traditions and old professions, to developing comprehensive tourism products.

I would like to focus primarily on formal initiatives designed to protect and promote culinary heritage. Therefore, the remaining part of the text will discuss EU and Polish registers, culinary trails (including the European Culinary Heritage Trail) and other initiatives to popularize culinary heritage.

³⁵ A. Garlicki, “Przygody kulinarne w PRL,” *Mówią Wieki* 2012, Vol. 11 (634).

Registers

Becoming part of the European Union instigated the Polish authorities to reflect upon culinary heritage. The most important regulations which are directly related to culinary heritage and which were introduced in Poland are the following: Register of Protected Designations of Origin, Register of Protected Geographical Indications and Register of Traditional Specialties Guaranteed.

By the end of 2012, there were more than 1,200 products from all over the EU covered by the above registers, with more than 200 cheeses, 250 kinds of fresh and processed meats, 100 kinds of oils and other fats, 30 beers and a lot of fruit and vegetables grown in different regions. 36 Polish products have been registered to date, which indicates a strong sense of identity and the entrepreneurial spirit of Polish producers. Polish products include:

- unique cheeses from the south of Poland – *bryndza podhalańska*, *oscypek* and *redykołka*, the last one being a small animal-, bird-, heart- or spindle-shaped cheese made in Podhale;
- honeys: *Podkarpacki miód spadziowy* (honeydew honey from the Podkarpacie Region), *miód wrzosowy z Borów Dolnośląskich* (heather honey from Lower Silesian Wilderness), *miód drahimski z Pojezierza Drawskiego* (drahimski honey from the Drawsko Lake District), *miód kurpiowski* (kurpiowski honey from the Kurpie Region) and ‘*miód z Sejneńszczyzny/Łódzieszczyzny/Seiną/Lazdiję krašto medus*’;
- all kinds of mead: *półtorak*, *dwójniak*, *trójniak* and *czwórnjak*;
- *rogal świętomarciński* – a sweet croissant with white poppy-seed filling, traditionally prepared in Poznań and in Wielkopolska;
- *ser koryciński swojski* (koryciński homemade cheese) – a ripened cheese, relatively rarely produced in Poland;
- *wielkopolski ser smażony* (fried cheese from the Wielkopolska Region), made of curd cheese and ripened;
- *andruty kaliskie* (Kalisz wafers) – slightly sweet, thin wafers, whose tradition dates back to the early 19th century;
- *olej rydzowy* (gold-of-pleasure oil, aka camelina oil) – produced from the plant *Camelina sativa* (Polish: *lnianka siewna*), also popularly called *rydz*, *rydzyk* or *ryżyk*;
- *cebularz* – round flatbread made of high-grade wheat-flour dough, with the topping of coarsely diced onion mixed with poppy-seed;
- *chleb prądnicki* – brown bread prepared out of fermented rye and produced in Kraków;

- beans from Ponidzie – *fasola korczyńska* (beans from Nowy Korczyn), *Piękny Jaś z Doliny Dunajca* (Beautiful Butter Beans from the Dunajec Valley) and *fasola wrzawska z Kotliny Sandomierskiej* (wrzawska beans from the Sandomierz Basin);
- apples from Łącko and Grójec (*jabłka łąckie* and *jabłka grójeckie*);
- dried and smoked prunes – *śliwki szydlowskie* and *suska sechłońska*;
- *truskawka kaszubska/kaszëbskô malëna* (Kashubian strawberry) and *wiśnia nadwiślanka* (cherry from areas located along the Vistula River);
- *jagnięcina podhalańska* (lamb from the Podhale Region), from specific lamb breeds and subject to additional breeding restrictions;
- *kabanosy* – long, thin sticks of dry sausage twisted off at one end;
- sausages: *kielbasa jałowcowa*, *lisiecka* and *mysliwska*, prepared on the basis of traditional recipes;
- *karp zatorski* (Zator carp), farmed only in one place in Poland;
- *obwarzanek krakowski* (a ring-shaped baked roll, typically from Kraków);
- *pierzekaczewnik* – *tatarski pieróg* (a baked product resembling a snail shell, with sweet or meat stuffing).³⁶

The above list of products shows that heritage includes not only food, but also breeding or growing methods which stem from long-standing traditions.

At the same time, after the introduction of EU regulations, Poland began to compile its own register – the List of Traditional Products “whose quality or unique features and properties result from the use of traditional methods of production and which are part of the cultural heritage of the region in which they are produced, but also an element of the cultural identity of the local community.”³⁷ Currently, the list has nearly 1,000 entries, all in several categories:

- dairy products;
- meat and meat products;
- fishery products;
- fruit and vegetables;
- bakery goods, cakes and confectionery;
- oils and fats;
- honeys and meads;
- ready-made meals and dishes;
- beverages;
- other products.

³⁶ <http://www.minrol.gov.pl> [accessed on: 12 June 2014].

³⁷ This is regulated by the Act on Registration and Protection of Names and Designations of Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs as well as Traditional Products (Dz.U. 2005 No. 10, item 68); <http://www.minrol.gov.pl/pol/Jakosc-zywnosci/Produkty-regionalne-i-tradycyjne/Przepisy-polskie-Produkty-regionalne-i-tradycyjne> [accessed on: 12 June 2014].

Each submitted product/dish is subject to a long verification and registration process and becomes an element of competition among the regions. Regions with the biggest number of registered products include Podkarpacie, Lesser Poland and Pomerania.

For some time now, local governments in Poland have also been actively involved in the organization of events aimed at promoting regional and local traditions. In February 2013, a three-year campaign called *Trzy znaki smaku* (*Three Signs of Taste*) was launched, with the Agricultural Market Agency as the main initiator, supported by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. The goal of the program is to inform the public about the EU system for protecting regional and traditional products, and to promote Polish foodstuffs that have been awarded quality labels under this scheme.³⁸ The campaign is addressed to:

- consumers;
- product manufacturers (farmers, food-processing plants, organizations for food producers and food-processing plants);
- indirect consumers.

The campaign entails numerous initiatives and events, including:

- contests:
 - *Bliżej Źródła Smaku* (Closer to the Source of Taste) – a photo contest for consumers, whose task is to take and send a photograph of people making regional or traditional products (e.g. a farmer cultivating a field, a beekeeper in an apiary, a housewife making pierogis, etc.);
 - *Blog ze Znakiem Smaku* (A Blog with a Sign of Taste) – a contest for the best recipe which uses a traditional or regional product;
 - *Dumny Znacawca Regionów* (A Proud Regional Expert) – a quiz for consumers;
 - contest for the Product and Region of the Year;
- an e-guide to the places where the products on the *Szlakiem Dobrego Smaku* (A Trail of Good Taste) List of Regional Products are produced;
- fairs to be organized:
 - Eurogastro in Warsaw;
 - Tastes of the Regions Fair in Poznań;

³⁸ I wrote about this in the article “Turystyka kulinarna w kontekście zrównoważonego rozwoju w kulturze – perspektywy dla Polski,” *Turystyka kulturowa* 2013, Vol. 10.

- several festivals, some of which have already taken place:
 - Jemy na Polu (Let's eat outside) Festival in Kraków;
 - the European Fair of Regional Products in Zakopane;
 - the National Festival of Good Taste in Poznań;
 - the Festival of Taste in Gruczno.

Registering regional products directly contributes to the growth of entrepreneurship. There is a need for regional products, and marketing activities help to stimulate the demand for them.

Suffice it to mention that regional events are no longer organized traditionally only by rural housewives, but also increasingly by dynamic young and professionally trained entrepreneurs, who treat them as a form of marketing and a means to keep in touch with the clients. They have promotional materials, flyers, and business cards; they wrap the food in paper with their company logos and invite people to visit the farm that produced the products. Today, many of such farms are like small businesses.

Culinary trails

In the last few years, we have seen a number of new regional initiatives to preserve and promote culinary heritage. One of them is opening culinary trails, which are often the initiative of tourism organizations, manufacturers and regional authorities. Culinary trails are created based on regional traditions (e.g. Silesian Tastes Culinary Trail or Białystok Culinary Trail), single-product offers (the Lubusz Trail of Wine and Honey) or groups of products (Małopolska Fruit Trail).

Today's culinary trails in Poland include:

- Kulinaryny Szlak Turystyczny – Kuchnia Polska (Culinary Tourism Trail – Polish Cuisine), established in 2009. Its main aim is to promote national cuisine as the “authentic, powerful and reliable element of national marketing.”³⁹ “We want to popularize Polish national cuisine, because in the region where the idea was born – the Jelenia Góra Basin and the Karkonosze – there is no regional cookery which could be its culinary pride and joy”⁴⁰ – it is a place of migration and resettlement, inhabited by people from the Eastern borderlands, Greater Poland, Podlasie, Silesia and Podhale. The project involves the presentation

³⁹ www.dobrysmak.pl [accessed on: 20 May 2013].

⁴⁰ K. Plebańczyk, *op. cit.*

and promotion of Polish cuisine in the form of regional meals served in twelve selected certified catering and accommodation facilities.

- Silesian Tastes Culinary Trail – established at the initiative of the Silesian Tourist Organization in order to protect and promote the culinary heritage of the Silesia Province. It popularizes typical Silesian dishes such as roulades with Silesian dumplings and red cabbage, *wodzionka* (stale bread, fat and water soup) and *hekele* (salad made of chopped herring, hard-boiled eggs, onions, pickled cucumbers and mustard), but also lesser-known delicacies such as *gałuszki* (dumplings made of grated raw potatoes), *gęsie pipki* (goose stomachs), *kućmok* (potato cake) and *kurzina* (nettle soup).⁴¹
- The Mazowiecka Micha Szlachecka (Mazovian Manor Bowl) Culinary Trail – part of “The Trail of Folklore and Flavors of Mazowsze” project, developed by the three facilities located in the Eastern Mazovia: the Zaścianek Polski restaurant in Siedlce, the Retro Skibniew Restaurant & Hotel and the Palace in Patrykozy. Here, visitors can participate in culinary and handicraft workshops and feasts.
- Podkarpackie Smaki (The Flavours of the Podkarpacie Region) – a trail prepared in cooperation with the PRO CARPATHIA Association for the Development and Promotion of Podkarpacie, the Marshal’s Office of the Podkarpacie Province and the Regional Tourist Organization of the Podkarpacie Province. The trail leads through quality-certified restaurants which serve regional cuisine.
- Białystok Culinary Trail – one of the latest initiatives. It was formed in October 2010 at the initiative of the municipality in Białystok. It should be emphasized that this is the second culinary trail of a Polish city (the first one was in Gdynia). The specialties of Białystok include:
 - *blins* – round pancakes of Russian origin, traditionally made of buckwheat or buckwheat-and-rye flour. They are typically served with cream or butter and chunks of salmon, pickled herring, black caviar, or with jam;
 - *chłodnik* – cold soup with chopped onion, salt, pepper and sugar, with different additions: eggs, chives, cucumber, dill or young beet leaves;
 - pork scratching cookies – prepared from pork scraps left after lard rendering, served sweet;
 - *kartacze* – a dish made of cooked and raw potatoes, stuffed with pork and beef meat and then cooked; served with fried onions and pork scratchings;

⁴¹ <http://www.slaskiesmaki.pl/> [accessed on: 20 May 2014].

- *kindziukas* (or *skilandis*) – a delicacy originating from the cuisine of Lithuanian peasants; the meat owes its unique flavor to the processes of maturation and drying;
- *sękacz* – a Medieval cake made of eggs, sugar, butter, flour and thick cream; its distinctive shape is achieved by painting layers of dough onto a spit over an open fire.

One should also mention initiatives such as the Małopolska Fruit Trail – created in 2003 and modeled on the Styrian Apple Trail in Austria. It aims to familiarize people with the process of fruit farming and making fruit preserves. Along the trail, you will find 300 fruit farms in the care of the Małopolska Tourist Organization. In each of the trail's communes, there are signs informing about the location of each farm. The trail embraces many communes, including Łącko, Raciechowice, Laskowa, Trzciana, Gdów, Stary Sącz and Zawoja.⁴² Nevertheless, it should be made clear that this trail primarily focuses on marking the fruit farms, whereas in Austria visitors are allowed to partake in additional educational initiatives. The “House of Apples,” as the Austrian museum is commonly called, holds a permanent exhibition dedicated to apples and fruit farming throughout history. You can learn about apples in mythology, religion, art and customs, about plant protection, e.g. against hail, and also about apple sales, transportation and harvesting. Outside the building, tourists can admire a press, hives, a wild hive in a hollow tree, meteorological station and tower, as well as boards presenting information about beneficial orchard animals and pests as well as old and new fruit varieties.

Yet another category is represented by the Lubusz Trail of Wine and Honey, which recommends producers listed under the names of alcohols, and is centered around 14 objects, including private vineyards, public museums and open-air museums.

As a relatively new initiative, culinary trails have not yet been thoroughly analyzed. However, what can be observed is that they have become extremely fashionable. The available information about the trails is scarce and mainly concerns their establishment or the objects that can be found along them, with a strong emphasis on local restaurants. Managing those “trails” understood as something other than their certification is difficult to identify and analyze.

Many initiatives are undertaken by the associations and unions of producers which make particular products. Hence, there are the associations of mead makers, beer brewers and winemakers. The last group usually teams up to prepare the tourist offer together (Poland has got approx. 200 vineyards,

⁴² <http://turystycznieszlaki.pl> [accessed on: 10 May 2014].

almost all of which are private). Such offers are growing in number, but what can be also observed is that the term “trail” is often abused, or its meaning is changed. In this context, I should mention the Piwny Szlak (Beer Trail) or the Warszawski Szlak Piwny (Warsaw Beer Trail), which are simply Facebook fan pages about beer. The word “trail” is used here to encourage people to visit beer cellars, invite them for home beer tastings, and sometimes to advertise a store or a restaurant. Another similar example is creating a “trail” as part of a brand building strategy – this is the way the Piastowski Szlak Kulinaryny (Piastowski Culinary Trail) is promoted, where the company is trying to build the Provincia brand as a label on products made from natural raw materials from the region of the “Pilica Valley.” In principle, “meetings organized along the Piastowski Culinary Trail will also be educational in nature. Participants will have an opportunity to learn about the history of the region, about how certain products are made and how raw materials are obtained.”⁴³

Promotion of the regions – the European network of regional culinary heritage

In recent years, the governments of Polish regions have been focusing their attention on yet another initiative related to culinary heritage, aimed at promoting regions abroad. It is called the European Network of Regional Culinary Heritage, founded in the Southeast Skåne in Sweden and on the Danish Island of Bornholm in 1995. The authorities of both regions signed an agreement to cooperate in the context of the development and promotion of regional culinary identity in the united Europe. In 1997, the project was endorsed by the European Commission and started to develop on a much broader scale. A European Coordinator was appointed to grant licenses to regions, run the official website, coordinate joint actions and be responsible for the common logo. The network embraces regions in different European countries, not just EU members (there are already 10 Polish regions). These include:

- Vitebsk, Belarus
- Split-Dalmatia, Croatia
- Bornholm, Denmark
- Sjaelland, Denmark
- Thy-Mors, Denmark
- Vestjylland, Denmark

⁴³ <http://www.dziczyszna-grzyby.pl/83-piastowski-szlak-kulinaryny> [accessed on: 25 August 2014].

- Elbe Weser Nordsee, Germany
- Lüneburger Heide, Germany
- Rügen, Germany
- Latgale, Latvia
- East Aukstaitija, Lithuania
- Agder Telemark, Norway
- Oslofjord, Norway
- Kujawy and Pomorze, Poland
- Lower Silesia, Poland
- Mazovia, Poland
- Małopolska, Poland
- Opolskie, Poland
- Pomorskie Voivodeship, Poland
- Warmia Mazury Powisle, Poland
- Westpomerania, Poland
- Wielkopolska, Poland
- Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, Poland
- Angus, Scotland
- Öland, Sweden
- Östergötland, Sweden
- Blekinge, Sweden
- Gotland, Sweden
- Skåne, Sweden
- Småland, Sweden
- Rivne, Ukraine.⁴⁴

The last Polish region to have joined the network was the Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship in 2013, so it happened relatively recently. The Turkish Antalya is now one of the Candidate Regions.

In accordance with the project rules, each region is to introduce additional guidelines governing the internal network. In the Świętokrzyskie region, for example, several regulations were adopted by resolution, stating that:

- a) network members include companies from the following sectors:
 - primary producers in agriculture, horticulture and fishery;
 - food-processing plants;
 - restaurateurs and other food and accommodation facilities;
 - wholesalers and retailers.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ <http://www.culinary-heritage.com> [accessed on: 15 February 2014].

⁴⁵ *The guidelines for the Świętokrzyskie Culinary Heritage Network*. Resolution and the Annex to the Resolution No. 2404/13 of the Voivodeship Executive Board of 11 December 2013, <http://www.sejmik.kielce.pl> [accessed on: 15 February 2014].

- b) additionally, candidates must demonstrate that they operate in the region and that the products/raw materials they use:
- come from their region;
 - are part of the culinary heritage of the region;
 - were made by the company which highlights its connections with the region.⁴⁶

Conclusions

Culinary traditions are an important part of cultural heritage. They are influenced by numerous natural conditions, i.e. the place and method of food production, history, fashion, and the mutual penetration of cultures. In this context, the issue of culinary heritage has been the subject of research for a long time now, which is clearly shown in the first part of this text.

Culinary heritage has also become part of practical management. It can be discussed when relating the individual components of management to historical experience; after all, the feast organized by King Bolesław I Chrobry in honor of Emperor Otto III was itself a meticulously planned and carefully executed action of a strategic and political meaning. The description provided by Gallus Anonymus is nothing but an endorsement of the Polish King's positive image. The description of the meal prepared by Hetman Zamoyski in honor of foreign envoys is exactly the same type of maneuver. Also, the policy of the Polish communist government towards Poland's national cuisine can be analyzed from the perspective of management.

It seems, however, that the most difficult thing is to analyze culinary heritage with modern outlook. The aim of naming this part of the text "culinary heritage as used in the present" was to make it sound ambiguous. What can be observed is that food and cooking has become a trendy and frequently discussed topic and is used in many contexts. There is a multiplicity of actions taken by the administrative authorities and a blooming partnership between private and public entities, manifested in numerous initiatives as a result of which each party achieves their goals.

The examples presented in the following text primarily indicate the practical use of culinary heritage. Developing culinary trails inspires us to include the subject matter in a wider debate on cultural trails in Poland, their role and principles of operation. One should agree with the opinion that it is a mass phenomenon and that trails' potential is unused,⁴⁷ but it also seems that, in

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ After: Ł. Gaweł, *Szlaki dziedzictwa kulturowego*, Kraków 2011.

the context of creating culinary trails, the definition itself is a challenge – as I have presented the examples showing that the very notion of “a trail” is overused and thus makes a conceptual mess in the discussion on the topic.

Culinary heritage used by the administrative authorities is part of the regional development policy, and thus can be analyzed from the angle of the various methods of its implementation and how it influences local entrepreneurship, the labor market, and the economic development of the regions. Regions implement this policy e.g. by joining more collaboration networks, such as the abovementioned European Network of Regional Culinary Heritage. There are also other initiatives, e.g. Polish cities joining the Cittaslow network, aimed at creating conditions for sustainable development based on localness,⁴⁸ but also intense efforts to enter products and local dishes into as many registers as possible.

Finally, culinary heritage is a fashionable topic among people.

Culinary tourism is gaining more and more followers. Culinary events attract a lot of people, as they are widely promoted both in traditional (posters, TV ads) and new electronic media (blogs, webpages, Facebook). We are bombarded with new culinary literature, blogs and TV programs.

The fashion, in turn, triggers a number of completely informal initiatives – as evidenced by the aforementioned Facebook fan pages, where users plan to meet up for joint escapades down the “beer trail” or for tastings of their homemade dishes and products. What is worth mentioning here is the rapid development and enormous popularity of food websites and blogs, which are popping up like mushrooms every day. These “cookbooks” of the 21st century also give the readers an opportunity to interact with their authors. Bloggers very often use their websites to familiarize readers with the history and origin of the food they cook, and at the same time supporting educational activities relating to culinary heritage. However, this is a topic for a completely new article.

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⁴⁸ More information on this can be found in the aforementioned article. See: K. Plebańczyk, *op. cit.*

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